

SECRET

DDI #01011-84/1  
14 February 1984

AH. ER 84-565+1/1

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence  
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

FROM : Deputy Director for Intelligence

SUBJECT : Repression by the Soviets and Their Allies (S)

*ISU -*

1. I have attached a draft outline for the study you requested on what we know about repression by the USSR and its surrogates. It was prepared by [ ] of the International Security Issues Division with help from [ ] of the Instability and Insurgency Center. The proposed approach would provide the reader with a detailed look at the means and effectiveness of Soviet-style repression by examining specific cases that illustrate both the techniques and the purposes that lie behind them. [ ]

2. Such a study would require the reallocation of analysts from other tasks. We could assign the paper to an analyst in OGI who, with help from SOVA and regional offices, could pull together a paper on the subject by early summer. This would mean a significant delay, however, for a paper in the Research Plan on Soviet use and penetration of media around the world. In my view the paper on Soviet media use will contribute more to our effort to develop a good research base on Communist Activities than would a paper on techniques of repression. [ ]

3. I propose that we begin research on this project now, but put off the major analytical and drafting effort until after the Soviet media project is complete. This option would give us and the regional offices more time to do the basic research required for such a project, and allow us to wrap up the Soviet media project. [ ]

*RF*  
Robert M. Gates

Attachment:  
As Stated

*Agree*

2 MAR 1984

*W/E*

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EXEC  
REG

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DDI #01011-84/1  
14 February 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence  
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

FROM : Deputy Director for Intelligence

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Robert M. Gates

Attachment:  
As Stated

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DECL OADR

**SECRET**

DDI #01011-84/1, dated 14 February 1984

SUBJECT: Repression by the Soviets and Their Allies

**/s/ William J. Casey**

APPROVED:

Director of Central Intelligence

**8 MAR 1984**

Date

**SECRET**

DDI #01011-84/1, dated 14 February 1984

SUBJECT: Repression by the Soviets and Their Allies

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## I. Introduction

The Soviet Union and other Communist states use a wide array of techniques to gain and hold control over their peoples. These methods range from rewarding the select few who share the goals and aspirations of the leadership to using massive violence to suppress dissidence and deviation from the norms established by the leadership. What makes these techniques effective is their interaction, so that virtually every aspect of society is dominated and subjugated by the ruling party. Specific tactics used include:

- o Control over individual rights of speech, assembly and movement.
- o Control over all political activity.
- o Insinuation of Party activities into non-political aspects of life.
- o Control of the media and extensive internal propaganda apparatus.
- o Control over educational, cultural and popular institutions.
- o Control over the means of production, and the right to trade.
- o Development of a pervasive state police system.
- o Use of coercion to extract cooperation or acquiescence.

These techniques are not unique to the Soviets and their friends; most are classic methods commonly used by all totalitarian dictatorships. Their use varies with who is in power, the geopolitical context, the political, cultural and historical circumstances, and the immediate purposes attendant to the use of the tactic. The purpose of this study is to examine the use of these techniques by the Soviet Union and other states under Moscow's influence to repress, subjugate and control people under their dominion. It also examines the use of these actions to support, encourage, and establish insurgencies and revolutionary governments in the Third World. Finally the study assesses the employment of these techniques to suppress anti-communist insurgencies and movements.

## II. The USSR: A State Policy of Control

### III. Other Communist Models

- a. Eastern Europe
- b. Cuba
- c. Vietnam

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IV. The Many Uses of Coercion

- a. Gaining Power
  - El Salvador
  - ANC
  - Philippines
- b. Consolidating Power
  - Angola
  - Nicaragua
  - Ethiopia
  - PDRY
- c. Countering Urban Rebellion
  - USSR
  - GDR
  - Poland
- d. Countering Insurgencies
  - Afghanistan
  - Angola
  - Nicaragua
- e. Suppressing Regime Deviation
  - i. Successes
    - Hungary
    - Czechoslovakia
  - ii. Failures
    - Yugoslavia 1948
    - Poland 1956
    - Romania 1960s

V. Conclusions

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# EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT ROUTING SLIP

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1	DCI		X (w/o att)		
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3	EXDIR		X (w/o att)		
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6	DDA				
7	DDO				
8	DDS&T				
9	Chm/NIC				
10	GC				
11	IG				
12	Compt				
13	D/EEO				
14	D/Pers				
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SUSPENSE		22 February Date			

Remarks

D/ Executive Secretary

1 February 1984

Date

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Executive Registry

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THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

Senior Review Panel

12 January 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR CHAIRMAN, NIC

SUBJECT: Afghanistan:  
Medecins sans Frontieres

1. Attached are two copies of Dr. Malurec's speech on Afghanistan, as given at the Harvard Faculty Club on 17 October 1983. These are the remarks I referred to in our meeting with the DCI today.

2. It seems to me a remarkable and an important statement. Would you have one copy forwarded to the DCI.

3. Thank you.

STAT

Attachment

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DCI  
EXEC  
REG

# Background

## Heritage Foundation

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The Heritage Foundation 214 Massachusetts Avenue N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002 (202)546-4400

September 30, 1983

## INSIDE COMMUNIST NICARAGUA: THE MIGUEL BOLANOS TRANSCRIPTS

### INTRODUCTION

In July 1979, a coalition spearheaded by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) overthrew the government of Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua. Sandinista promises of progressive reforms and free elections met with enthusiastic support from those who viewed Somoza's regime as corrupt and repressive.

Among those early revolutionaries was 20-year-old Miguel Bolanos Hunter. Bolanos joined the Sandinista State Security apparatus and rapidly rose through the ranks to become a counter-intelligence officer in section F-2--the second highest level of the organization. The higher Bolanos rose, however, the more disillusioned he became.

He soon discovered that the Sandinistas' promises were empty. In fact, they had a hidden agenda--to establish a Marxist state in Nicaragua and to export revolution to the other nations of the hemisphere. To meet their goals, the Sandinistas created a regime more repressive than Somoza's, controlling virtually every aspect of life in Nicaragua. With the support of Cuba and the Soviet Union, Nicaragua has become the centerpiece of the communist plan to undermine Latin America and the main channel for arms and guerrillas to communist insurgents in Honduras, Costa Rica, and El Salvador.

On May 7, 1983, Bolanos commandeered a private airplane and escaped to Costa Rica. Because his mother is an American citizen, he was able to enter the United States. He has since provided American authorities with valuable and verifiable first-hand information on the Nicaraguan threat to Latin America.

The unedited excerpts that follow are taken from a series of interviews with Bolanos conducted by Heritage Policy Analyst